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THE TOILER

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A British Labor Threat

Again has the militancy of British labor come to the front. With a vote of nearly two to one, 800 delegates attending the trades union congress and representing nearly 5,000,000 organized British workers have passed a resolution recommending a general strike to compel the government to withdraw its troops from Ireland and to stop the manufacture of munitions of war for use against Russia and Ireland. A ballot upon the resolution is now being taken by the rank and file and it is expected to carry.

That British labor is well aware of its power to enforce its demands thru direct action when it considers it has a matter of sufficient importance to act upon cannot be doubted. And that revolutionary leaders will welcome the opportunity for a test of strength with the government must be surmised. Delegates Hodges, one of Britain's most fearless labor men, said in introducing the resolution, that British domination of Ireland should be demanded and characterized it as "a big enough question on which to take direct action".

The government's reply to the resolution made thru the Irish secretary's office is evasive in character. The reply states that the resolution is probably based upon a misconception of the purpose of the British troops in Ireland, which is not that of occupation but merely to assist the civil power to maintain order.

We cannot conclude that British labor will accept such a weak statement. Its faith in the sincerity of the government is in no condition to withstand even a slight strain. The Irish question seems likely to become the factor that will sever such confidence as remains. As matters now stand, it is evident that British labor intends to force British imperialism into a semblance of humane treatment of its subject peoples and to a sharing of government with labor. Direct action, the general strike, the terrors which haunt capitalism, may soon assume their due respect in the arsenal of labor's weapons. All power to the workers, including the British!

The (Fifty) Seven Varieties

Seven varieties of radicals met in convention last week in Chicago and came out as one. This in itself is rather an astonishing feat. According to natural law when a thing becomes perfect it disintegrates. But in the case of the Seven Varieties, each was so imperfect of itself that it had to combine to save itself from disintegration. Whether the remedy will be worse than the disease remains to be seen and whether it has now reached that perfect stage which precedes disintegration the future will reveal.

The Farmer-Labor Party is grounded upon two fallacies. First being that reforms actually affect the operation of the capitalist system. The second is that by the ballot they can be accomplished. These two fallacies are enough it would seem to rot the fabric of any political party. The F. L. P. is a protest against capital's monopoly of rule, but it is a protest without any means of backing up its kick. According to the statement of one delegate, it is a classless party. Of course he meant economically classless. Doubtless that is true, for we find in its ranks individuals from all classes, workers, petty bourgeoisie and some large ones. But to the best of our knowledge it is a party of a class of a certain kind. It is composed of that class of discontented, liberal minded elements which comprise a large proportion of our citizens who have broken away from the ranks of the stand-patters, but, not having the knowledge and understanding of the structure of capitalist society, seek to iron out its wrinkles with the half warm flatiron of reformism.

We are constrained to state that the days of reformism are past. The demands of the present time call for revolutionary measures if progress is to be made. Such workers as are inveigled into the ranks of the F. L. P. stand a chance to learn thru its failure the difference between beating the air and revolutionary class-conscious action. The F. L. P. is not an organization thru which the wage slaves of American can function in the creation of the Industrial Commonwealth which is to succeed capitalism. And that is sufficient reason why wagemongers may cheerfully throw it a highball.

"Fair and Sympathetic"

While the possibility of swinging the labor vote is of the remotest, there is plenty of evidence that Samuel Gompers is still led by democratic strings and will use his influence with the A. F. of L. to boost for Cox.

After chasing across the continent from one of the old party conventions to the other, begging for crumbs for labor, Gompers is now back where he started from playing the monkey for the democratic organ grinder.

Gompers takes a great deal of comfort in the assurances of the democratic machine bosses. He finds that the democratic platform is nearest to the demands of labor and reposes his confidence therein. From his statements regarding these matters as revealed in the public press, we quote this gem. "His (Cox) nomination was a happy selection. Gov. Cox has been fair and sympathetic". Now if labor can be happy on Cox sympathy then all will be well along the Potomac. Prob-

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ilities are that workers will be handed plenty of "sympathy" before very long. Whether they find that sympathy satisfying to their empty stomachs or not remains to be seen. But with Sammy on the job there is no reason why they should not be content.

The Cost of Capitalism

While the cost of maintaining the capitalist profit system is incalculable as regards the miseries and sufferings of the exploited millions, its cost in finances is ascertainable.

Of the government appropriations for 1920, 93 cents of every dollar goes to pay for wars, past, present and future. Public works and governmental functions receive the balance of the dollar.

The frightful comparison of the expenditures for war and those for educational, research and development work are seen when the actual figures are placed side by side. When we realize that only 1.01 per cent of the total of appropriations is used for the advancement, education, and improvement of the people's life, then the terrific waste of economic means which the maintenance of the capitalist system and its wars entail, becomes plain.

And then there are individuals who will maintain that the apex of human development has been reached in the present system which requires that 93 per cent of the expenses of its maintenance must be used in the ghastly work of murder and preparation for murder. Meanwhile the people's life continues upon its low plane amid sufferings, fear of misfortune and wasted energies.

That Vacation Ghost

In these vacation days we observe that that Ghost which haunts almost every household in the land is not to be evaded. We refer to the ghost of Artificial Living. This statement is provoked by an advertisement of "vacation necessities" consisting of a list of 21 articles purporting to be of prime necessity to women vacationists. With the exception of three articles the whole list is one of face powders, creams and such slops as modern woman is supposed to besmear her face and figure for the sake of beauty as convention declares it to be.

The curse of living today is the artificiality which most of us endure for one reason or another, possibly because we have not the courage to live more naturally. It would seem that eleven months of the year would be sufficient in which to burden ourselves with all the googaws, frills, manners, customs etc., of a debased existence without perverting a few weeks vacation in the woods or at the lake side by dragging the Ghost along. But habit becomes in time a fixed principle and when it is encouraged by a profit making system, poor gullible humans soon find themselves intangled in an inextricable web.

We recall to mind the words of that stern but perfectly sane and original thinker, Henry David Thoreau upon the occasion of a journey he wished to take. Upon inquiry at the railroad station, he found that the fare was a dollar. He decided to walk, for as he said, in order to ride, he would have to first hire him self out for a day whereas if he walked the day would be his, and a far better view of the scenery along the way to boot. Precious few of us have the courage or incentive of Thoreau. Most of us give over to the customs of the age with little opposition or thought, even forgetting that Nature's Sun and Wind are the best healers of a sickened body—and soul.

But of course the cosmetic peddlers would never let us learn that if they could help it.

The Opinion of "J. S."

Akron Ohio July 5th, 1920.

THE TOILER.

"I am a Socialist for many years and has lost many a Job on account of being a Socialist and would lose my present job if my name would appear in your paper therefore I am with holding my name but I will look for you reply to my opinion as J. S.

"Well in the Toiler of July 2nd, 1920 entitled The Pope be damned. Now you are harming the Cause of our Comrades by such heinous talk the Pope is not what you have said he is and you know it. You also know that the law of the State wont put you were poor old Debs is by talking about the Pope you dont say much about Palmer, Wilson, Lloyd George, King George and a lot more but you want to play a save game by getting after some body who you know wont give you any trouble you are some fighter for our poor fellows just Cause. Their is highly payed agents by the rich tyrants of our Country to harm our Cause and you ought to be one of the Agents if you are not one already for you are not fit for what you are doing for his poor Slaves or what you are suppose to be doing. Poor old honorable Debs it is a pity to have him behind the dirty jail walls he would tell us what is going on jail or no jail."

Comrade J. S.

J. S., we are overwhelmed by your generosity. You will not risk losing one more job by having your name appear in The Toiler, but you are very solicitous that we "say something" that will land us in jail. The trouble with J. S. is that he is blinded by the light (or the darkness) from the Papal throne. So much so that we are sure that if even Debs spoke the truth about the Pope, J. S. would be among the first to dub him an "agent of the rich".

So far as we are aware, no one is taking any chances on a jail sentence by telling the facts about Palmer and Wilson and other political tools of the predatory interests, either native or foreign. At the same time it is well to recognize dead whales when you meet them, i. e. Wilson and Palmer. There is little left of them but the stinking carcasses but if J. S. wants to attack them he is welcome to the joy of the battle. As for us, we like to choose a live subject for our trenchant Oliver.

Has It Come Again?

That which seemed too far away to be noticed by the casual observer four months ago now surely appears threateningly nearer. In fact the confession is frankly made in banking and trade circles that a curtailment of production on a vast scale is already underway. Overtime work, which a few months ago was the rule has been dispensed with, thousands of employees are being laid off in a score of industries, unemployment is growing and, with the high prices still maintaining a steady advance, that "prosperity" in which the workers were supposed to be wallowing just recently has vanished and a real economic hardship is being felt.

In the New England states the unemployed situation is most acute in the textile trades. The shutting down of the American Woolen Company's plants have turned out an army of 40,000 unemployed.

The closing of the mills, it is claimed, is due to the curtailment and the cancellation of orders, including a heavy buying from over seas. The low exchange rates have doubtless played a part in forcing this reduction of orders. At the same time there are indications that the Woolen Companies themselves are forcing an artificial condition in the hopes of lowering wages, maintaining high prices and discouraging labor union organization among their employees. The following statement from the pages of the Daily News Record, organ of the textile trade is significant of a determination to force the workers thru a period of unemployment to return at deereated wages, which of course includes lack of union organization.

"It seems more than likely that when conditions do improve, an effort may be made to get operatives back in the mills at lower wages and longer hours. Labor leaders say they believe this is planned. It will not be successful, they maintain. But they will not say what is to prevent operatives long out of work and without funds, from returning to work at almost any rate of wages and any schedule of hours."

Should the present wave of unemployment fail to recede, the mill owners will have their wish of thousands of hungry workers besieging their gates when the mills open.

The textile trade is not alone in this curtailment of production. The Akron rubber industries are fast reducing their shifts to mere skeleton crews, thousands having been laid off for indefinite periods with reduction of working time and number of employees still taking place. Unemployment in Cleveland and surrounding territory in the building trades and in industrial establishments is growing and the same is being recorded in other industrial centers. A recent survey made by the United States Bureau of Labor disclosed that of fourteen representative industries, ten showed reduced payrolls compared with the previous month while four showed increases. R. G. Dunn and Co. report the greatest number of insolvencies in 18 months, 674 having been recorded in June.

The workingclass generally have come to regard the appearance of periodical industrial crises as merely incidental features of social phenomena without inquiry as to the necessity for them nor the purpose they fulfill in the scheme of capitalist production. Likewise do they accept the consequent suffering to themselves in a like thoughtless and indifferent manner, much as would a religious fanatic accept a physical ailment as a visitation from God with out an inquiry into personal hygiene. Having been taught in both Sunday school and secular to trust the management and control of his life to an invisibility and the "great" men of the period, it has become an adept at accepting the miseries of capitalism in an unquestioning and unanalytical manner.

It is only when we inquire into the reasons and purposes for the establishment and operation of industries that the WHY of industrial panics can be answered. When we recognize that all industry is operated for the profit which can be made out of the business, that is out of the labor employed therein, then we have made a start toward finding a solution for the panic puzzle. And when we further learn that for every dollar's worth of goods labor produces only a part of it goes to labor then we may draw a straight line from this point to the inevitability of industrial crises. For, if labor receives only a part of the value of its product, then a surplus remains which must somehow be sold or else it piles up in the warehouses. Foreign markets must be established, the earth must be scoured for places where this surplus can be sold. Savage races must be subdued and turned into civilized creatures so, as to provide a market for the product which "superior" civilization has exploited its workers of. As long as foreign markets are to be had this game of profit grabbing may continue more or less satisfactorily. But as these foreign countries establish themselves as productive centers and set up an industrial system upon the same exploitative basis, then the market begins to shrink, the surplus which labor has produced, but cannot buy back on account of its wages being less than the value of the goods produced, begins to pile higher and higher and the warehouses are filled and industry must close. Then the workers are thrown out—because they have filled the world with plenty, every warehouse is full, every market is loaded with its products, but labor suffers in the midst of abundance.

The remedy for such an outrageous and unscientific "system" of industry should suggest itself. The ownership of industry must be taken out of the hands of private hands and placed in that of the workers, not individual workers, nor groups of workers but in a society and government of the workers composed of all actually engaged in production. The value of the product of labor must be retained by the laborer for his own use and comfort. No parasite must be permitted to exist thru patriotism. Industry and the needs of human life must cease to be merely a means for the enrichment of a few, but must become the means and impulse for a higher degree of life for those who fulfill all useful purpose.

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